

## Message Text

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73

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S/S - MR. BARNES

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R 012050Z DEC 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

S E C R E T STATE 236143

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC DECLARAION: JAPANESE VIEWS

REF: (A) STATE 230822; (B) STATE 205949

1. JAPANESE EMBASSY COUNSELORS MURATA AND DONAWAKI  
CALLED ON DEPT OFFICERS (EUR/RPM) NOVEMBER 29 TO  
PROVIDE BRIEFING ON RECENT EC APPROACH TO GOJ PROPOSING  
BILATERAL EC-JAPAN DECLARATION, AND TO REVIEW CURRENT  
GOJ THINKING ON ATLANTIC DECLARATION EXERCISE. FOLLOWING  
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EMERGED DURING DISCUSSION:

2. MURATA SAID THAT FOLLOWING DANISH AMBASSADOR'S  
APPROACH TO GOJ ON NOVEMBER 14 (REF A) TO FORMALLY

PRESENT EC PAPER, FRENCH, BRITISH, DUTCH, BELGIAN, GERMAN AND DANISH AMBASSADORS, OR CHARGES, ALSO MADE BILATERAL DEMARCHES ON VICE-MINISTER HOGEN, OR OTHER SENIOR FONOFF OFFICIALS, TO REPEAT POINTS CONTAINED IN PAPER. ONLY MAJOR EC MEMBER NOT TO MAKE DEMARCHE WERE ITALIANS. EC AMBASSADORS STRESSED THAT PAPER WAS FIRST TIME EC NINE AS SUCH HAD TAKEN A STAND ON A POLITICAL ISSUE VIS-A-VIS JAPAN, AND HOPED GOJ WOULD BE ABLE TO RESPOND, AT LEAST IN GENERAL WAY, BEFORE EC DECEMBER SUMMIT MEETING. EC AMBASSADORS SAID EC IS OPPOSED TO AN ALL EMBRACING TRI-LATERAL DECLARATION FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

(A) IT COULD NOT ADEQUATELY EXPRESS THE SPECIFIC EC-JAPANESE RELATIONSHIP; (B) IT WOULD APPEAR TO REST OF THE WORLD AS STATEMENT BY A "RICH MAN'S CLUB" (PRESUMABLY BECAUSE ALL MAJOR INDUSTRIALIZED POWERS OF WESTERN WORLD WOULD BE INCLUDED); (C) IT WOULD CREATE AN IMPRESSION OF "GANGING-UP" ON COMMUNIST WORLD; AND (D) IN ANY EVENT, US NO LONGER FAVORED A TRI-LATERAL DECLARATION. MURATA SAID EC AMBASSADORS ALSO HAD SUGGESTED THAT, SINCE EUROPE IS NOT THE DEMANDEUR IN THE DECLARATION EXERCISE, IT IS UP TO GOJ TO SUBMIT FIRST DRAFT OF A BILATERAL EC-JAPAN DECLARATION. MURATA SAID VICE MINISTER HOGEN HAD REBUTTED EC ARGUMENTS AND HAD REITERATED STRONG GOJ DESIRE TO BE INCLUDED IN A TRI-LATERAL DECLARATION.

3. MURATA ALSO NOTED THAT DANISH AMBASSADOR, IN A CALL ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS BUREAU DIRECTOR OKAWARA, HAD SAID HIS GOVERNMENT AND THAT OF BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS AND ITALY ARE NOT UNALTERABLY OPPOSED TO TRI-LATERAL DOCUMENT AND EC PAPER WAS RESULT PRIMARILY OF FRENCH PRESSURE. DANISH AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT UPCOMING ELECTIONS IN HIS OWN COUNTRY MIGHT RESULT IN A NEW GOVERNMENT MORE FAVORABLY DISPOSED TOWARD US, AND THEREFORE TOWARDS TRI-LATERAL DECLARATION PROPOSAL.  
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4. MURATA SAID THAT, IN HIS VIEW, A BILATERAL DOCUMENT SPELLING OUT IN SOME DETAIL THE SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF THE EC-JAPAN ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP MIGHT HAVE SOME MERIT, BUT ONLY IF IT WERE IN ADDITION TO A MORE GENERAL TRI-LATERAL DECLARATION. IN THIS REGARD, HE FELT CERTAIN ISSUES CURRENTLY BEING ADDRESSED IN NEGOTIATIONS ON US-EC DOCUMENT, SUCH AS ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY AND SOME ASPECTS OF THE TRADE QUESTION, MIGHT BETTER BE RESERVED FOR TREATMENT IN A TRI-LATERAL DOCUMENT. MURATA SAID THAT AMBASSADOR YASUKAWA BELIEVES PART OF PROBLEM WITH TRILATERAL DECLARATION PROPOSAL MAY BE THAT EC RESENTS US ROLE AS EC-JAPAN "GO-BETWEEN," AND THAT EUROPEANS MIGHT BE MORE AMENABLE

TO CONSIDERING A TRILATERAL APPROACH IF A DRAFT OF SUCH A DOCUMENT WERE SUBMITTED TO EC DIRECTLY BY JAPAN. MURATA ALSO SAID THAT NATURE OF US-EC DIALOGUE AT PRESENT TIME PREDISPOSES EC TO REACT NEGATIVELY TO US PRESSURE ON THIS POINT, AND THAT GOJ MIGHT HAVE BETTER LUCK PRESSING ITS OWN CASE. IMPORTANT POINT HERE, MURATA SAID, WAS TO DEVELOP DRAFT OF TRILATERAL DOCUMENT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE FOR SUBMISSION TO EC. GOJ WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN EXCHANGING VIEWS ON THIS RIGHT AWAY AT WORKING LEVEL. LATER ON IN DECEMBER DIALOGUE

COULD BE MOVED TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEVEL.

5. MURATA SAID ONE ELEMENT OF EXERCISE WHICH HAD CONFUSED GOJ UNTIL VERY RECENTLY WAS IMPRESSION AT TOP LEVELS OF JAPANESE GOVERNMENT THAT JAPANESE INVOLVEMENT WOULD BE IN FORM OF JAPANESE ADHERENCE TO PRESENT US-EC TEXT. THUS, REVISED GOJ DRAFT DECLARATION SUBMITTED TO US IN OCTOBER WAS ALMOST A REPLICA OF CURRENT TEXT OF US-EC DOCUMENT, MODIFIED SLIGHTLY TO ALLOW FOR JAPANESE PARTICIPATION. MORE RECENTLY, MURATA SAID, REALIZATION WAS BEGINNING TO SPREAD WITHIN GOJ THAT US-EC DECLARATION WOULD PROCEED AHEAD INDEPENDENTLY, AND THAT JAPANESE INVOLVEMENT MORE LIKELY WOULD COME VIA A SEPARATELY DEVELOPED TRILATERAL DOCUMENT. THUS, MURATA BELIEVED, A NEW ATTEMPT AT A TRILATERAL DRAFT WAS NECESSARY, PERHAPS DEALING WITH  
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MATERIAL AT A HIGHER LEVEL OF GENERALITY THAN THAT CONTAINED IN EXISTING US-EC TEXT, OR GOJ DRAFT.

6. DEPTOFFS THANKED MURATA FOR DETAILED GOJ VIEWS ON DECLARATION PROPOSAL AND REITERATED FIRM US VIEW, AS STATED BY SECRETARY, THAT THERE MUST BE A THIRD TRILATERAL DECLARATION IN ADDITION TO NATO AND US-EC NINE DECLARATIONS. DEPTOFFS ALSO SAID EC NINE STATEMENTS TO JAPANESE THAT US WAS "LOSING INTEREST" IN TRILATERAL APPROACH WAS COMPLETE MISREPRESENTATION OF US POSITION AND WAS REMINISCENT OF RECENT EC REMARKS TO US THAT JAPANESE WAS "BEGINNING TO REALIZE THAT TRILATERAL DECLARATION IS UNREALISTIC," AND THAT GOJ WAS MOVING TOWARDS BILATERAL DECLARATION APPROACH. DEPTOFFS SAID US AND JAPAN MUST BE VERY CAREFUL TO PRESENT UNITED FRONT TO EC ON THIS ISSUE, SINCE TAKING SPOTLIGHT OFF TRILATERAL DECLARATION COULD RISK SACRIFICING EMOTIONAL AND CREATIVE SPARK ENVISAGED IN ORIGINAL US PROPOSAL. THUS, TACTICS EMPLOYED IN DEALING WITH THE EC ARE VERY IMPORTANT, AND IF GOJ WERE TO SIGNAL TO EC IN ANY WAY THAT GOJ POSITION IS WEAKENING THIS WOULD UNDERMINE EFFORTS TO OBTAIN EC AGREEMENT TO TRILATERAL DOCUMENT. DEPTOFFS SAID THAT US AND JAPANESE

OFFICIALS SHOULD REMAIN IN CLOSEST TOUCH TO ASSURE  
COORDINATED EFFORT. MURATA AGREED.

7. FOR EC CAPITALS. YOU SHOULD TAKE OCCASION AT  
EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY TO UNDERLINE AT APPROPRIATE LEVEL OF  
FONOFFS THAT US CONTINUES TO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO  
TRILATERAL DECLARATION, AND DOES NOT VIEW EC-JAPAN  
DECLARATION AS SUBSTITUTE FOR EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT  
ON A SINGLE TEXT EMBRACING US, EC NINE AND JAPAN. IN THIS  
CONNECTION, YOU SHOULD POINT OUT THAT, BASED UPON

INDICATIONS TO US FROM JAPANESE SOURCES, EC NINE MAY  
BE UNDER SOME MISAPPREHENSION ON US POSITION, SINCE  
JAPANESE APPARENTLY HAVE IMPRESSION FROM EC NINE  
AMBASSADORS IN TOKYO THAT US NO LONGER FAVORS TRILATERAL  
DECLARATION. THIS IS NOT CORRECT, AND WE WOULD  
APPRECIATE APPROPRIATE STEPS BY EC NINE TO CORRECT ANY  
MISCONCEPTION OF US POSITION THAT MAY HAVE BEEN  
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CONVEYED BY NINE TO JAPANESE ON THIS SCORE.

PORTER

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NATO  
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